MOTHER EARTH

Vol. XI. January, 1917 No. 11

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(Are they Opposed to Each Other?)

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Vol. XI **JANUARY, 1917** **No. 11**

TRUE FREEDOM *

By Henry David Thoreau.

WAIT not till slaves pronounce the word
To set the captive free,—
Be free yourselves, be not deferred,
And farewell, Slavery!

Ye all are slaves, ye have your price,
And gang but cries to gang;
Then rise! the highest of ye rise!—
I hear your fetters clang.

The warmest heart the North doth breed
Is still too cold and far;
The colored man's release must come
From outcast Africa.

What is your whole Republic worth?
Ye hold out vulgar lures;
Why will ye be disparting Earth
When all of Heaven is yours?

He's governed well who rules himself,—
No despot vetoes him:
There's no defaulter steals his pelf,
Nor Revolution grim.

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*Published for the first time. By courtesy of the Boston Bibliophile Society.

'Tis easier to treat with kings
And please our country's foes,
Than treat with Conscience of the things
That only Conscience knows.

✣✣✣✣

OBSERVATIONS AND COMMENTS

OVERTURES for peace have been made, signs of weariness and exhaustion, and above all, of growing discontent and wrath against their own rulers amongst the people become visible. However, the bragging and blustering in all the state capitals of the belligerent governments to the effect that "we" can keep up the war indefinitely for years and years to come are still kept up just the same, but that is the specialty of a lying and fraudulent diplomacy.

The facts probably are that each side has reached the conclusion that there will be no victor in the murderous game so overwhelmingly strong that he can dictate peace on his own terms. After millions have been killed and crippled, the necessity for a patched up compromise stands out more and more clearly. By way of monstrous sacrifices the war has taught the lesson that countries, nations, and races cannot exist without international relations, and that it is the crime of all crimes to destroy these necessary international relations by fostering stupid national prejudices, hatred, and scientific preparations for murder. Of this crime of crimes the governments of the leading capitalistic countries stand accused and convicted.

Now the question arises, are these evil forces, who brought about the war, to be trusted to conclude a lasting peace? There is no sign anywhere that they have "reformed." On the contrary, their reactionary, tyrannical designs, their greed for more arbitrary power have increased. They found the people in all the warring countries at the beginning of the war napping and submissive to their commands. The governmental idea that the people are a mere mob with no will of their own, just fit to be exploited, and from time to time to be led to the shambles in order to strengthen love and devotion for the fatherland, has rather been strengthened than weakened by the war.

Under such circumstances peace would only mean a

truce for a shorter or longer period, as it would leave the very institutions, conditions, and causes that led to the war, untouched and in full force.

In this holocaust the people have been duped and bled for nearly three years. It would be time now to raise their voices, giving notice to the exploiters, rulers, and diplomats of the world that their game is up and that with mutual destruction and killing also the despotism of Mammon and State have to quit. Let the diplomats in their peace parleys try to deceive and cheat one another. Meanwhile the thinking and courageous part of the people in all countries should strive for a higher and nobler aim—the international social revolution, which alone can create the material and psychologic basis for a Society, in which wars will be impossible.

* * *

COMRADE Alexander Berkman came from San Francisco to the East for the purpose of creating a propaganda and to raise funds in behalf of George Billings, Ed. Nolan, Israel Weinberg, Tom and Rena Mooney, being falsely accused of having planted the San Francisco preparedness parade bomb on July 22nd.

Success has crowned the efforts of our friend. Numerous unions and large circles of workers have become aroused by the seriousness of the case which consists of one of the most fiendish plots ever conceived by the enemies of labor. In New York, Baltimore, Boston, Springfield, Mass., and other places large meetings were held and considerable sums of money have been forwarded to the defence committee.

But meanwhile, through the long absence of Comrade Berkman *"The Blast"* has suffered severely. Revolutionary publications can only be kept alive if the publishers or editors become their untiring agitators and agents. Since our Comrade has not been able to do this kind of propaganda work for the *Blast* right on the spot the very existence of the paper is threatened.

But it must not die. The *Blast* must live to keep up the courageous fight for the innocent prisoners in the San Francisco citadel, and it must live for the purpose of advancing on the Pacific Coast those social revolu-

tionary ideas, the final realization of which will free humanity from bondage and misery.

In Europe the war has killed most of the revolutionary publications, let it not be said that here in America indifference, apathy, lack of solidarity and understanding achieved the same sad result.

It should be easy to get new readers and contributions for the *Blast*, as it is a paper of first quality both in regard to its literary contents and its powerful cartoons and caricatures.

* * *

IN San Francisco the prosecution in the preparedness parade bomb trial seems to be determined to reach the climax of infamy.

One Raymond Guthre, a seaman and member of the International Seamens' Union had the misfortune to invoke the wrath of the police and district attorney's office, because he helped to locate an important witness for the George Billings Defence whom the police held secretly arrested, just for the noble reason that he should not be able to go on the witness stand. Guthre, too, was arrested and on December 23rd dragged from his cell to the prison corridor, where he was knocked down, severely beaten and trampled upon.

One of the defendants, Israel Weinberg, has also been bodily attacked and man-handled in the prison by a guard. They have tried to alternately coax and force Weinberg to become the "confidential informant," i. e., manufacturer of brazen lies and perjuries for the prosecution. Disappointed in this, because Weinberg is an upright man and not a rascal, they use their power in the meanest way against a defenseless prisoner.

And such a pack of wolves holds the scales of Justice, draws salaries and honors, and is appointed for the high office to find out the truth and nothing but the truth!

* * *

FROM the *News Letters* sent out by the Everett Prisoners' Defense Committee we gather that there are 74 in jail in Everett, charged with first degree murder and 35 in the King County jail in Seattle charged with unlawful assemblage.

And still more slain victims of the massacre of free speech fighters perpetrated on November 5th by the patriotic vigilantes!

A rumor is current in Everett that two bodies were recently discovered on the beach. One was that of a well-dressed man, who is thought to have been a salesman traveling on the "Verona" on Nov. 5th. The other is also thought to have been a passenger on the ill-fated vessel. It is supposed these two men were killed by the murderous fire proceeding from the two docks and tug-boat and that they toppled over the rail into the water. Those who tell the story say that the bodies were secretly taken out to sea again and thrown back, well weighted, into the water. This would conform the assertions of by-standers that many were seen to fall overboard in the melee on that fatal Sunday.

According to this the murderers in the name of law and order seem to be anxious to wipe out and efface their bloody tracks.

* * *

ABOUT a week before Christmas two young men, mere boys, Millstein and Kumrow, held in the death chamber at Sing Sing for the electric chair, begged to be executed a few days before the officially appointed day.

Their reason given in the petition was that if their corpses would be delivered to their relatives on, let us say, Sacred Eve, and remain with them during Christmas, it would cast a terrible gloom over the hearts of their beloved ones.

The authorities in their great mercy granted the demand, and had the two boys lawfully murdered before the set day under assistance of the representatives of Church and State, the latter being Mr. Moyer, the new warden of Sing Sing, who felt it his "grim duty" to attend the ghastly performance.

And to none of the spectators seems it to have occurred that the two criminals showed a finer human feeling than the dignitaries who administered at their killing.

* * *

A NEW YORK preacher had the commendable courage to remark in his Christmas sermon that there are rich people, benefactors, who give with full hands but have hearts in their bosoms as hard as stone.

Examples are not rare. For instance, a very rich manufacturer from Chicago, Rosenwald, gave a check for $100,000 to the Jewish Relief Fund. The misery of

the Jews in Galicia and Poland is great, and it would appear that it touched the heart of the rich man profoundly, but when you come to think that Mr. Rosenwald is the same gentleman who some time ago appeared before an investigation committee and offered the opinion that a working girl could get along comfortably and decently with a weekly wage of $6.00, your enthusiasm for the benefactor and his fat check may evaporate.

* * *

DAVID CAPLAN has been convicted in Los Angeles for manslaughter. The judge, in passing sentence had the choice to inflict upon the comrade a term varying from 1 to 10 years. In consideration that the first jury in the case disagreed, that the charge of first degree murder broke down altogether and that the evidence was of the flimsiest, most artificial kind, although carefully manufactured by specially paid and trained detectives and rascals, the judge might have thought that a sentence of a couple of years was sufficient. But no, he gave Caplan the extreme limit.

The influence of the Manufacturers' Association spirit was apparently stronger on justice than any human consideration.

THE BLAST RAIDED

I HAVE just received the following telegram from "Fitzie," my co-worker on The BLAST, in San Francisco.

> The BLAST office was raided this morning by Cunha (Assistant District Attorney), Martin Swanson (Chief Detective of the Public Utility Corporations), Burke and Hand (detectives in the bomb cases). They took away manuscripts, subscription lists, cartoons, files, and forcibly took from me three of your personal letters. The next issue of The BLAST will be delayed, but will try to have it out by Friday. We were all subpoenaed. Carl and I all that's left in office.
>
> M. E. Fitzgerald.

The telegram speaks for itself. The authorities of San Francisco—in other words, the Chamber of Commerce—are mad with the thirst of blood. The trial of Tom Mooney is to start on the 3rd of this month, and the police seem to be bent on eliminating those most active in behalf of the accused labor men. The free voice of The BLAST has long been a thorn in the side of the authorities. They seem especially enraged now that Mr. Bourke Cockran, the New York attorney, has arrived in San Francisco, to take charge of the

defense. Till the last moment the Vigilantes of the Chamber of Commerce scoffed at the idea of Mr. Cockran giving his services to the labor men. Now that he is actually in San Francisco, they seem bent on venting their wrath on The BLAST and those connected with it. Therefore the sudden raid on The BLAST.

But The BLAST MUST live and continue its needed work. It is the only paper in California that has dared to raise its voice in behalf of our imprisoned comrades. It has been of considerable assistance in their defense, morally and financially. Its articles and cartoons have been copied in various papers in the West.

The voice of The BLAST must not be stifled. It is needed, especially on the Coast. This month of January will witness the first anniversary of the paper. In spite of tremendous difficulties, bitter opposition and the deprivation of second class mail privileges, The BLAST has fought its way to its second year of existence. It will continue as long as a single one of The BLAST Group remains outside of jail. And you who are interested in its work and its struggle, we need your assistance and help. We need it immediately.

If your subscription has expired, renew it at once—it will help our work. And get your friends to subscribe. New subscribers will find The BLAST interesting and rich in content, with every issue containing among other things, reports of the San Francisco labor cases, articles and cartoons by Bob Minor, etc.

Contributions and subscriptions can be sent to the office of The BLAST, 569 Dolores Street, San Francisco, or directly to me, at 20 East 125th Street, New York.

ALEXANDER BERKMAN.

* * *

ATTENTION!

THE work I came to do in New York in behalf of our friends imprisoned in San Francisco, is about completed. I am planning to leave New York the first week of February, and I shall be glad to address mass meetings in the larger industrial cities, on my way to the Coast.

Labor organizations, Workmen's Circle Branches, Groups or individuals who are interested and willing to arrange meetings to aid the San Francisco labor victims, please communicate with me at once.

ALEXANDER BERKMAN,
20 East 125th Street,
New York, N. Y.

THE CHRISTIAN GOD AND THE WAR

(Belated Christmas Memorandum)

WITH some trifling, insignificant exceptions the belligerent nations and murderous governments officially profess faith and trust in the Christian God of love. Indeed, they are the *leading* Christian governments. It was under their guidance and protection that missionaries were sent to the "poor heathens" of the "dark continents" in order to teach them the principles of Christian civilization, the climax of which turned out to be world-wide slaughter and an insane competition for murderous efficiency.

If the Christian God, in violent disgust with these leading Christian nations should feel himself compelled to utterly reject and condemn them, he could just as well declare bankruptcy. They have been his mainstay and stronghold through the ages; it was in their wealthy and proud cathedrals, churches, and monastaries where his power and glory were sung in thousand voices. To condemn them for their worse than savage kill-and-rob-methods would mean isolation for him. He would become a God without prestige, without altar, pulpit, and priest. The only alternative open to him, either to prepare a second deluge more rational than the first (the mistake of the first deluge being, that Noah's life was spared) and to start the creation game all over again, or to resign the rulership of the universe altogether.

It seems evident that the Christian governments and churches are not at all afraid that the Supreme Ruler will do anything so radical. They seem to be convinced that he is a compromising God, and history, especially the history of Christianity furnishes ample proof that they are right.

The Christian God has evidently become used to slavish adoration, hypocritical devotion, and servile glorification to such an extent that existence without them would not seem worth while, and for this reason he will rather compromise with the criminal designs of the chieftains of Christendom than abdicate.

There are examples enough in history to show that tyrants have often been spoiled in that way. If you can't live without clouds of incense, you become the slaves of the incense burners.

Something like this must be in the minds of the earthly representatives of the Christian God. Otherwise, how else could they dare to roughly and viciously taunt the God of love with their prayers and imprecations to help in the wholesale murder of their Christian brethren? Were they not convinced that czar, kaiser, king, president, priest, and munition manufacturer held the Christian God under a certain obligation, why, they could not help being deadly afraid he would strike them all dead by lightning when they address him as though he were their chief marshal on the fields of death and devastation.

Since more than two years God has been implored daily from the pulpits of Germany to kill off Frenchmen, Englishmen, Russians, etc., in masses; and from the pulpits of England and France also prayers rise up daily to the same God to kill Germans, Austrians, Bulgars, Turks in large numbers.

Such cruel mockery and bloody irony could not be indulged in if the Christian rulers and preachers of the gospel really believed in a God of love and justice. Neither do they believe in God's omniscience, for if they did, they would know that God could not be deceived by their national cant and patriotic twaddle. He must then evidently know that war is not waged for the fatherland. hearthstone, and home, but for the greed for lordly power, conquest and money. It could hardly be a secret to him that war makes a few rich people still richer and the masses still poorer and more miserable. In all the warring countries the people do not bleed and die for the "ideals of the nation," they suffer and die as the result of their slavish submission to the commands of their despots and exploiters. And this slavish submission is to a large extent the poisonous fruit of Christian teachings, of the belief in a supreme tyrant of the universe. Of him the tyrants of the earth have borrowed and stolen their "majesty," their charter and privilege to lord it over the people, to sacrifice them by the millions on the altar of nationalism, superstition, exploitation.

The augures and rulers of heaven, and the augures and rulers on earth apparently understand one another on the basis of fifty-fifty. They stand and fall together. Before their complete downfall in the hearts and minds of men is accomplished there can be no real emancipation, no real liberation for our race.

DESPITE JEHOVAH AND THE POLICE

By Emma Goldman

IT IS written somewhere in the holy book of Israel that if the chosen children were permitted to travel the road of life without confronting an enemy, they would forget Jehovah. Applied to the Anarchist propagandists this would read as follows: If you can tour up and down the land without an arrest, you will forget the police. The moral of it is: Blessed be Jehovah! But for him most Jews would become contented pawn brokers. Blessed be the police! But for them many Anarchists would become "philosophic" and join the complacent living dead.

Chicago proved faithful again. Seventeen large meetings. Enthusiastic audiences. The comrades reenforced this year by our splendid workers Lucy and Bob Robins, Sophia Schumer, Sadie Bernstein, C. V. Cook, Walter Merchant and Sveda were helpful as ever. Many willing volunteers responded to the call for the distribution of birth control literature. Yet no race suicide in its wake. What more need one ask?

Milwaukee, which we have neglected for several years, continues to be heavy of mind. Not through beer, but through political socialism. Still we had four good meetings. The refreshing part was furnished by a group of young artists and writers. Like the spooks of dead past sins this group meets at midnight to discuss "ways and means" how to bring about the revolution. Reckless, irresponsible wonder-worker Youth! Again a number of eager volunteers distributed birth control literature and all continues to be dull in the stronghold of Socialism—Milwaukee.

Ann Arbor, Michigan. Six years ago we barely came away with our lives. This time one earnest eager, generous soul, Agnes Ingles, performed the miracle. As she is writing about it herself, I will only add that it was worth the effort of six years to have discovered Agnes.

Undisturbed, quiet, peaceful four weeks. No wonder we were beginning to forget the police. But like Jehovah who watcheth over Israel, the police watcheth over us. In Cleveland, Ohio, and Rochester, N. Y., they came, they saw, and they "conquered." Ben

Reitman was arrested in Cleveland for calling for volunteers to distribute birth control literature. After the arrest one hundred people, each carrying a birth control pamphlet in his hand, followed him to the station house. Ben was the only one held. He is out on $1,000 bail. His case has been set for trial for January 9th, but it is planned to ask for a continuance for February 6th. A Free Speech Defense League has been formed with Mrs. Ralph Mitchell as Secretary-Treasurer. Among the members are: Mrs. H. Wellman, Mrs. Peets, Mr. David Gibson of the Ground-Hog and others.

The law in Ohio is very severe. Unless an energetic campaign of publicity and protest be inaugurated at once, the outcome may prove serious. Ben Reitman's case is the first in Ohio. A victory for him would mean a triumph for the birth control issue in that state. Our readers owe it to themselves to help with the defense. **Communicate at once with Mrs. Ralph Mitchell, 2079 E. 90th St., Cleveland, Ohio. Write and induce others to write letters of protest to Judge Dan Cull, Municipal Court, Cleveland, Ohio.** Insist upon your right to birth control knowledge. Point out that if free speech and free press are suppressed, you must remain ignorant on the vital issues of birth control.

Rochester, N. Y., my "home town." The little ironies of life, how they play fast and lose with poor, helpless humans! Thirty-one years ago I came to Rochester—to the home of factories and the land of shop keepers. This time I came to Rochester—as to the home of social snobbery and the land of mental lethargy. Everything was to be exceptionally peaceful, but life's little ironies upset it all. At the second meeting, in the Fine Arts Hall, attended mostly by readers of such profound literature as the Woman's Home Journal, the bomb exploded.

Shortly before I arrived in the hall, Ben Reitman was arrested for selling Dr. Wm. J. Robinson's book "Limitation of Offspring" and Margaret Sanger's "What Every Girl Should Know" and "What Every Mother Should Know." Imagine the Rochester police

knowing that these books are sold freely everywhere; that they go through the mails; that they are perfectly harmless! But even the Rochester police could have been made to see the folly of the arrest but for a strange coincidence. A birth control pamphlet was discovered by the detectives in one of the nine copies of Dr. Robinson's book confiscated by the police. No one knows how the pamphlet got there. But there it was. Ben was held for trial and is out on $250 bail each, on two charges. The case comes up on the 24th of January. It will no doubt be postponed to February.

At the hearing, the "criminal" made a fine stand. In referring to the two sections on which he was charged he said, among other things:

"These were placed on the statute more than forty-four years ago. It was never intended that they should cover such cases as I am being tried upon. It was done to prevent fake patent medicines and mechanical devices for bringing on abortions from falling into the hands of innocent people. Because the masses of women are now kept from birth control knowledge, many thousands of them die as a result of criminal operations. There are many thousands who positively refuse to bear children because they are either too exhausted or too poor to provide for them. The birth control agitation is to bring to these women knowledge and relief."

Ben made two motions for the dismissal of the cases against him. Judge Willis K. Gellett did not deny the motion but said that he would have to read the literature and would have to inform himself on the subject. He was, at any rate, willing to be informed so it is up to all of us to send him the necessary information. As in the case of Ohio the successful outcome of the arrest in Rochester does not concern only Ben Reitman. It concerns the thinking people of Rochester and the state of New York. **Write to the Judge, care of Courthouse. Protest against the arrest. Point out the importance of birth control knowledge and the utter farce of talking of free speech and press when people are prohibited from talking and writing freely on vital subjects. If you wish to help with the defense, send all contributions direct to Dr. Ben L. Reitman, 20 E. 125th Street, New York City. Do it soon.**

We had three meetings at the Labor Lyceum Forum

in Rochester. At the last meeting a birth control league was organized with Mr. A. I. Howser as temporary secretary-treasurer. Get in touch with him. You can reach him at 227 Parsells Ave.

The good friend who arranged the two lectures on Ibsen and Strindberg, at the Fine Arts Hall, in Rochester, worked hard and incessantly for weeks to induce Rochester respectability to get out of its hot house atmosphere. But for a very few eager to learn for themselves, I doubt whether this kind friend did the Rochestarians any good. But I shall be eternally grateful to her because, through her efforts in my behalf, she has strengthened my conviction, if it needed strengthening, that there is no element in all of society so hopelessly stagnant as the idle, parasitic, sheltered females of the middle class.

Now to my return to New York. January 7th, at the Harlem Masonic Temple I will open a series of lectures which I hope to continue all through winter. The first meeting is also to serve as a reunion of all our friends and a send-off before my trial, which takes place at Special Sessions, Criminal Court Building, Centre and Lafayette Streets, Monday, January 8th. at 10 A. M.

While I am not guilty of the charge of distributing birth control leaflets on May 20th, and while there are scores of people who will go on the stand to testify in my behalf, one never knows to what lengths the prosecution may go. So I ask all our New York friends to be at the lecture Sunday, January 7th, and those who can spare the time to be in court Monday morning.

Despite Jehovah and the police, we shall go on.

An Event In Cleveland

Emma Goldman will speak Sunday, February 4th, 7:30 P. M., at the North Congregational Church, St. Clair and East 72nd Street.

Subject—"The Message of Anarchism."

STATE SURRENDERS ON MURDER CHARGES AGAINST MESABA DEFENDANTS SCARLETT—SCHMIDT—TRESCA—FREE!

By Harrison George

IN OPEN court before Judge Cant at Duluth last Friday the 15th, a settlement proposed by the state and previously ratified by all the defendant prisoners and acknowledged by them as the best that could probably be obtained even after long and expensive trials, the state made a complete surrender on murder charges against all eight defendants; releasing Tresca, Scarlett, Schmidt, Mrs. Malitza Masonovich and John Orlandich; substituting a charge of manslaughter against Phillip Masonovich, Cernogorovich and Nickich to which these three pleaded guilty.

Readers will understand that the defendants themselves, knowing all conditions and familiar with the situation as regards the possibility of a less fortunate outcome in case of trial, were the ones best fitted to decide whether any proposal of settlement affecting them should be considered. This was done and the prisoners were the adjudicators of their own cases insofar as the acceptance or rejection of any plan of settlement was involved.

On Friday, December 8, the state's attorney in a talk over various matters intimated to the defense counsel that perhaps a possible disposition could be arranged as might be mutually agreeable and satisfactory. Counsel for both sides agreed that the outcome of the trials was uncertain and considering the heavy expense attendant, a settlement might be advantageous. Defense counsel however, stated that no settlement restricting activities of the union or infringing upon the principles contended for, could be thought of. Also that no action would be possible unless firstly, the matter be approved by the Defense Committee at Virginia; and secondly, the consent of the trial judge be obtained. The next day Mr. Greene, state's attorney, hurried to Virginia to consult with the trial judge. Having obtained sanction from the judge, Greene communicated on Monday with the defense counsel and they in turn summoned the Defense Committee to Duluth for conference.

After considering it the committee agreed that it was

important enough to warrant the plan being turned over to all the defendants in jail for their consideration. It being impossible to obtain satisfactory interviews in the small cells at the jail, it was arranged for all prisoners to be brought to the court house and interviewed in the open jury room. No one was present except the prisoners, their attorneys and the Defense Committee. The matter was fully discussed with Tresca, Scarlett and Schmidt and it was represented to them as merely submitted to them by counsel and committee as a matter of duty and without any recommendation one way or the other; that if they desired, counsel would report negotiations off and proceed to trial. After careful inquiry the three organizers stated that courtesy and the importance of the matter suggested a submission of the entire plan to the other defendants, Masonovich, Cernogorovich, Nickich and Orlandich for their sole decision as to what action should finally be taken.

Speaking to these four through Nickich, Gilday said, "Now boys, this is a matter in which you have the entire say, nothing has been decided upon, nothing will be without your thorough consent and approval; if you approve we will treat with the other side and if not—we shall go to trial." After the details had been given them, they with one accord shouted their approval; Phillip Masonovich saying, "I be glad to take three times one year if these other men"—pointing to Tresca, Schmidt and Scarlett—"could be free, because they can do more good than we can. The union provides for my family, so what do I care. I can serve my short sentence standing on my head!"

Orlandich, when told he would be free, offered to take Phillip's term and learning it could not be done insisted he be imprisoned with the others. The rest persuaded him at last to go out and look after the Masonovich family until Phillip be released; then—while all strove vainly to conceal their emotions; Cernogorovich and Nickich each begged that they be allowed to assume the sentence of Phillip and have it added to their own so Phillip might go free! The impossibility of this reaching their understanding they gave cordial assent to the plans and in keeping with some simple, touching native custom, all

clasped hands and kissed each other to signify mutual devotion and ratification of the agreement.

A settlement assured, next morning in open court, Masonovich, Nickich and Cernogorovich were formally sentenced to an indeterminate term, eligible to parole in one year. Mrs. Masonovich and Orlandich were dismissed; and Tresca, Scarlett and Schmidt released upon an indefinite postponement without bond or recognizance for their return and the expressed understanding that they go from the Range only when their convenience permitted and they were so disposed nor was any exaction made limiting their activities on or off the Range. They went from the room practically free and observers look for an early dismissal of their cases.

Arthur LeSueur, assistant counsel, arriving in the city and coming to court as the hearing began, was informed of the settlement and signified his approval.

The district attorney in stating his reasons to the court, said he had entered a nolle prosequi as to two of the principals and the three organizers because he had no evidence that would warrant a conviction. This declaration of the state and its acceptance by the court is of particular and immense importance, as the vital PRINCIPLE INVOLVED in the entire case was the endorsement or repudiation by the courts of the state of the DOCTRINE OF CONSPIRACY as cited in the Haymarket Decision, which though apparently obselete and infamous, has been often used against labor leaders; John Lawson of Colorado among others.

This outrageous precedent is now broken in force; even more than a verdict of "not guilty" given to the organizers by a jury could break it; a jury's verdict being on a point of fact while this case can be cited as the court's opinion on a question of legal definition.

A great danger is removed from all organized labor and evidence establishing some physical complicity in the deed will have to be introduced before a speaker or organizer can be held for crimes committed by other persons.

At a meeting of the Central Committee of the miners' union on Sunday a vote of approbation of the settlement and of thanks to the Defense Committee and counsel was carried unanimously. Sunday afternoon spirited ad-

dresses were delivered by Scarlett and Tresca in the finest opera house at Virginia, the largest Range town, the miners greeting them with tumultuous applause.

From those who lead in the civic life of the state comes the warmest appreciation of the union and what it has done. Mayor Power of Hibbing and Mayor Boylan of Virginia state that the result of the strike is in evidence by a wage raise of 25 per cent. and that above all else the miner no longer feels that slavish fear of the boss. Says C. M. Atkinson, a noted Range editor, "The strike was the best thing that ever happened to the state of Minnesota. It awakened the civic conscience to the omnipotence and fundamental rights of labor and for the first time in history a strike against the mighty Steel Trust has ended with the union alive and growing. My hat is off to the union that forced such a victory."

VOICE OF A WOMAN

By A. ESTELLE STORY

I READ to-day in one of our Omaha papers of the arrest of Mrs. Margaret Sanger for telling women how to control childbirth. It is said that when a woman approaches middle age, life begins to look very amusing to her. Perhaps that is why I laughed when I read of Mrs. Sanger's arrest. Lest you may not understand my attitude, I will say, while I have not been openly an Anarchist, for many years I have sympathized with them. This letter, if you wish to take any notice of it, will be my first open avowal of the fact that I am an Anarchist, so far as I understand it.

I laughed when I read of Mrs. Sanger's arrest, because I can tell how to prevent and control childbirth in a way that is far more dangerous to society, morals and life than any advanced by Mrs. Sanger, and yet there is no law to prohibit it, no officer to arrest me, no judge to convict me. It is this: have no relations with man.

But the consequences! There's the rub! Healthy women, of great vital force, putting such constraint upon nature, often land in an insane asylum. Some save themselves from that by secret habits. An alienist told me that there are thousands of working women in London who employ such means to cheat nature because of man-

made social conditions. Others, who are well balanced enough to avoid either insanity or secret practice, invariably become nervous wrecks before they reach middle age. This is my condition. Nine years ago my troubles began with a long siege of nervous prostration. For seven months I did no work, and for a year after I was forced by circumstances to take light employment, I worked with every nerve protesting. Neither I nor the doctors who treated me knew what caused my breakdown, as I was, apparently, a strong, well-balanced woman. Two years after I came out of the hospital I broke down again. I was compelled to apply to the Associated Charities for help, and the little woman in charge sent me to an alienist. This man found the cause of my trouble—sexual suppression. For three years I was under alienist treatment. Now I am again in a broken down nervous condition and out of work.

The same reasons that caused me to decide, when I was a girl of fifteen, that I would never marry, are holding me as a woman, with my eyes wide open to the consequences, adhering to that decision. I will be no man's slave; I will never bring forth children to man, to poverty and to serfdom. When I was fifteen years old I knew the one sure way to prevent it, and I have kept to that way. It is not a question with me of "virtue" or morals. I hold that to follow the dictates of nature temperately is greater and more commendable than to excel in any state or condition that has arisen out of man-made law. All my life I would have liked to have children. But I have persevered in my determination that I would never be a parasite on man, like vermin drawing my nourishment from him and breeding on him and for him. The cry that stirred my revolutionary ancestors in another cause has rung in my soul, "Give me liberty or give me death." I must be independent. My children, if I had any, must be my own, not the property of some man who kept me as a chattel slave. Should I, a woman, so close to the power of creation, descend from my high state to the extent of giving over to man the offspring of my flesh and blood? Should I, for a paltry maintenance, which I am well able to earn for myself unless restrained by the tyrant, man, let some man reap the benefit of that divine power of creating, which is mine? This

he has successfully stolen from woman since the world began.

I care not for what society might say. Society is topsy-turvy. Men buy women, why should not women buy men? If woman controlled the commerce and the wealth of the world, she could then buy, as cattlemen buy the service of bulls for their herds, all of man she needs for the population of the world. And, indeed, it is not much! Just a spark! These have been my sentiments since I was a young girl, and the foundation of my ideas of birth-prevention. But conditions have prevented my living up to them. I have not had the money to buy man; I have not had the leisure to bear and raise children. I have not had the means to enable me to defy society; I have never been able, under man-made conditions, to provide for anybody but myself, and not always that.

Man is wise in his own conceit when he keeps woman in a state of serfdom. It is the only way that he can usurp the fruit of her womb, give it his name and call it his. But woman is awakening. The struggle is on for woman dominance just as it was once on for man's dominance, and woman will win out. The so-called "millenium" will see woman the dominating spirit in all things. It is the due course of nature. Injustice, tyranny, and the rule of might over right are contrary to nature, and nature will some day shatter like a globe of thin-spun glass all of man's foolish and unnatural laws and customs, and reign supreme. Woman will then use her creative power or leave it idle, as she wills, without dictation from man.

BAKER'S DILEMMA

By W. S. VAN VALKENBURGH

THERE is an evident dissatisfaction which has been the more aggravated by the recent Hughes-Roosevelt military propaganda, with the manner in which Mr. Wilson has handled the Mexican situation.

Doubtless there are few persons in this country who are entirely satisfied with Mr. Wilson's fluctuating policies toward that much coveted El Dorado. The pacifists hold that he has already gone too far, while the more aggressive patriots contend that he has not gone far enough.

As a result of these divergent opinions, the ex-professor presumes to straddle the fence, no matter how much it hurts him.

To make matters worse, no less a dignitary than the Honorable Secretary of War, Mr. Newton D. Baker, delivers himself of some very pregnant truths regarding revolutionary psychology in general, an event that doubtless would have gone the way of all official rhetoric, had he not been so specific in the application of his historical references.

At all events, several amiable ladies of the cloth, whose duties in life comprise, among other things, membership in the various societies of the "Daughters-of-the-American-this-and-American-that," claim to have access to the stenographic notes of Mr. Baker's Atlantic City speech, and their patriotic dignity has been highly offended by the remarks attributed to the unfortunate chief of the War department—in fact, they are so worked up about it that they demand his immediate resignation on the grounds that one so ignorant of history, "so lacking in ideals" tends to injure the "morale" (?) of the U. S. Army.

It is no difficult matter to believe that these nice old ladies are merely the "daughters" of the revolutions that have gone; nor does it require an abnormal stretch of the imagination to appreciate that their information regarding things military is confined, in the main, to gentlemanly orations and Memorial Day parades.

That is why Baker shocked them so frightfully.

It was altogether an unfortunate affair from the administration standpoint, because the very ostensible purpose of Baker's address—Wilson's defense—was lost in the storm of denunciation and consequent publicity brought down upon his head.

The sudden climax to what promised to be an interesting controversy came about when Baker meekly apologized for what he had said and then denied that he said it.

It would be too much to infer that the stenographer forged the notes and put words into the speaker's mouth that the Secretary's right to the job that Wilson gave him might be challenged. Moreover, foolish as the women were to take issue with his reported statements,

they scarcely, one and all, would have been carried away by patriotic fervour alone to the extent of rushing into print in a signed statement had the objectionable sentiments not really been expressed.

Following the line of least resistance then, and assuming that Baker did make the quoted speech first, and then lied about it afterward, what does it mean?

It means that the constitutional guarantee of free speech is a very admirable document just so long as it is not too literally interpreted, and no longer.

Of the only two women who have ever been convicted of a political offense in this country, one of them came to grief for exercising the liberty to speak her thoughts. Countless men have been imprisoned for speaking too freely, but this is the first time that a man high in the councils of the prevailing government group has been called upon by a civilian group—and a body without the right of suffrage at that—to quit his talking or quit his job.

It means also, that these women calculated better than they imagined, for they have succeeded in bringing out the real cringing character of the big Mogul of the army when he did not openly admit what he was charged with saying, if he said it, or by politely asking the zealous ladies to prove the reputed statements historically false, if he did not.

Mr. Baker's real offense appears to be his comparison of Washington's army to Villa's and likening the men of the American Revolution (who were bandits to King George) to those of the Mexican Revolution (who are bandits to King Capital).

Of course they were outlaws! Just as the Germans are outlaws to England to-day and the English are outlaws to the Germans.

The reason that the records of revolutions, like all other human deeds are biased, is because of the normal inability of the Occidental to place himself in his opponent's position for fear he will dethrone his Ego.

Rape and ruin is war's reward, no matter who pursues it, and if ever a revolution on the western continent was justifiable that revolution is the one that has raged in Mexico for the last five years, and which will continue till the land and its resources have been restored to the people from whom it has been stolen.

There are few people on earth who have been more brutally enslaved, more heartlessly murdered and more intensely exploited by the un-holy trinity of a government of greed, graft and the Roman Catholic Church, than have been the people of Mexico.

All revolutions are the same, their ferocity being but a matter of degree determined only by the ability of procuring the means of accomplishing their purpose.

Therefore Baker's historical references are irrefutable, but his cowardice is unforgivable.

THE MEXICAN-AMERICAN CONFERENCES

By Enrique Flores Magon

SERIOUS and imposing as Wilson and Carranza try to make appear their so-called Mexican-American Conferences, they are disgusting to any honest heart, and would be ridiculous if they were not criminal.

If Carranza really were the true ruler of Mexico and not its self-appointed executive, there might be some dignity in the parleys. But things are quite different from what they appear.

Woodrow Wilson, although undeservedly and due to the blindness of many of the American people that have mistaken that piece of glass for a real diamond, has at least the support of the majority of the inhabitants of the United States. But Venustiano Carranza cannot conscientiously be called the ruler of Mexico, since he never was elected as such and the majority of the Mexican people hate him at heart. There is not a single state in the whole Republic without armed rebels in open revolt against that lap-dog of the rapacious American plutocracy.

Besides, Carranza's doom is rapidly approaching, no matter how determined Wilson and his masters of Wall Street may be to uphold the bearded despot, and no matter how much harder Wilson may make it for all of us rebels by persecuting us through his hirelings in the U. S. Federal Courts or by placing an embargo on arms and ammunition destined to those fighting in Mexico against the so-called de facto government. Carranza's downfall is sure and Wilson knows it.

Only a Wilson, a man that speaks one way and acts

another, who with his velvety tongue is praising Liberty while with his dagger is feeling his way to her heart, may be Machiavellian enough to try to gain the upper-hand on Mexico through diplomatic chicanery when he has failed to do so by means of brutal force, through armed intervention, as he has failed thanks to the honesty and clear vision of American Labor that opposed him.

No matter what the outcome of those so-called Mexican-American Conferences may be, we may be positive that they shall be a dead letter for the Mexican proletariat. Wilson, Carranza and their hirelings may come to terms, but not with the approval of the Mexican people.

We Mexicans are fighting for Land and Liberty.

This is a fight for our ideals, and despair shall give us strength enough to fight it out if necessary until there is none of us left alive or until there shall not be any more rich bloodsucker, nor any government to oppress us, nor any more priests of any religion to deceive us. Our fight is a fight to the finish.

Therefore, we do not care for what Carranza and Wilson may agree to, for we do not care what governments—be it elected or self-appointed—may wish to impose on us.

Through hard experience and some thinking, we have come to the logical conclusion that government, any government, is instituted to protect the rich as against the interests of the poor, and, hence, we are determined not to let any government at all ride on our backs. That explains why during these six last years a number of governments have come and gone to oblivion in Mexico.

We are determined to be free, absolutely free, and we shall be so, despite the wishes of a Carranza or a Wilson, and at the end of this struggle we shall plant the Red Flag of Anarchy on the ruins of Capitalism. Long live the brave fight for Land and Liberty!

FREE SPEECH ON THE CAMPUS OF ANN ARBOR

By AGNES INGLIS

SOMETIME ago I undertook to arrange a series of lectures on Russian Literature for Emma Goldman. It occurred to me that since the campus was used for all sorts of purposes and by all sorts of people,

surely it ought to be free enough to stand for lectures on Russian Literature. But I have proved to myself and others in Ann Arbor that there is no free speech on the campus.

When I first approached people connected with the University, all told me "Yes, indeed, we believe in free speech, but, we get the money for the support of the institution from rich people and we cannot afford to antagonize them. If Emma Goldman gave a course of lectures on the campus, would not the University be held responsible for it? And you could hardly expect this, Miss Inglis." No indeed, I merely wanted to find out whether the doors to the different halls on the campus were closed or open. Thus we found out that if there ever is to be free speech for the students, the students themselves will have to demand it and stand up for it.

However, Emma Goldman spoke in Ann Arbor in Woodman's Hall, a very forlorn place down town, up two flights over a store. She spoke twice a day, afternoon and evening and strange to say, the lectures were all well attended, which is a tremendous feat in as much as the students are worked to death with lectures and everyone foretold that eight meetings in Ann Arbor would prove a failure.

There were six lectures on Russian Literature, one on Anarchism and one on the Educational and Sexual Dwarfing of the Child. At the last evening, Ben Reitman called for volunteers to distribute birth control pamphlets. A number of men and women came forward and everyone present was given a circular.

I said the doors were closed. I wish to correct myself. I had in mind only halls, because Miss Goldman was given receptions from all sorts of quarters least expected, at fraternities and sororities, the Gamma Phi Beta and the Alpha Phi entertained her. Then the boys' house club, the Eremites and last, but not least, Dr. Ben spent one noon at the Lambda Chi Alpha.

The enthusiasm and interest shown by these young people changed all my ideas, especially in regard to the girls. I saw them reach out, demanding to know things that the University deliberately sat down on. One of these girls said to me the other day, "We don't seem to learn anything in college that helps us to meet life.

When we face real life, we don't understand it." All the young people who heard or met E. G. are discussing a good many things now they weren't discussing before. They are thinking, so are other people. It isn't a question of agreeing with her all at once, but the fact is important that she inspired so many to think and to face the truth.

No doubt some would like that Emma Goldman should confine herself to Russian Literature and leave out all inspiring propaganda, and that Ben Reitman should refrain from selling "God and The State" or any other literature at all for that matter. Then the doors of the campus might be open. What a price to pay!

I felt that that week, with the awakening for so many, was a little Renaissance.

ANARCHIST MORALITY

By PETER KROPOTKIN

(Continuation)

WAYS of thinking may change. The estimate of what is useful or hurtful to the race changes, but the foundation remains the same. And if we wished to sum up the whole philosophy of the animal kingdom in a single phrase, we should say that ants, birds, marmots, and men are agreed on one point.

Christians have said: *"Do not to others what thou wouldst not they should do to thee."* And they have added: "Else, thou wilt be sent to hell."

The morality which emerges from the observation of the whole animal kingdom far surpasses this, and may be summed up in the words: "DO to others what you would have them do to you in the same circumstances."

And it adds: "Take note that this is merely a piece of *advice;* but this advice is the fruit of the long experience of animals in society. And amongst the great mass of social animals, man included, it has become *habitual* to act on this principle. Indeed, without this, no society could exist, no race could have vanquished the natural obstacles against which it must struggle."

Is it really this very simple principle which emerges from the observation of social animals and human societies? Is it applicable? And how does this principle pass into a habit and continually develop? This is what we are now going to see.

V.

The idea of good and evil exists within humanity itself. Man, whatever degree of intellectual development he may have attained, however his ideas may be obscured by prejudices and personal interest, considers in general as good that which is useful to the society wherein he lives, and as evil that which is hurtful to it.

But whence comes this conception, often so vague that it can scarcely be distinguished from a feeling? There are millions and millions of human beings who have never reflected about the human race. They know, for the most part, only the clan or family, rarely the nation, still more rarely mankind, how can it be that they should consider what is useful for the human race as good, or even attain a feeling of solidarity with their clan, in spite of all their narrow, selfish interests?

This fact has greatly occupied thinkers at all times, and it continues to occupy them still. Not a year passes but whole libraries are written on the subject. We are going, in our turn, to give our view of the matter; but let us remark in passing that, though the *explanation* of the fact may vary, the fact itself remains none the less incontestable; and should our explanation not be the true one, or should it be incomplete, the fact, with its consequences to humanity, will still remain. We may not be able fully to explain the origin of the planets revolving round the sun, but the planets revolve none the less, and one of them carries us with it in space.

We have already spoken of the religious explanation. If man distinguishes between good and evil, say theologians, it is God who has inspired him with this idea. Useful or hurtful it is not for him to inquire; he must merely obey the fiat of his creator. We will not stop at this explanation, fruit of the ignorance and terrors of the savage. We pass on.

Others (Hobbes for instance) have tried to explain the fact by *law*. It must have been law that developed in man the sense of just and unjust, right and wrong. Our readers may judge of this explanation for themselves. They know that law has merely utilized the social feelings of man, to slip in, amongst the moral precepts he accepts, various mandates, useful to an exploiting minority, to which his nature refuses obedience. Law

has perverted the feeling of justice, instead of developing it. Again, let us pass on.

Neither let us pause at the explanation of the Utilitarians. They will have it that man acts morally from self-interest, and they forget his feelings of solidarity with the whole race, which exist, whatever be their origin. There is some truth in the Utilitarian explanation. But it is not the whole truth. Therefore, let us go further.

It is again to the thinkers of the XVIII. century that we are indebted for having guessed, in part at all events, the origin of the moral sentiment.

In a great work,* left to slumber in silence by religious prejudice, and indeed but little known even amongst anti-religious thinkers, Adam Smith has laid his finger on the true origin of the moral sentiment. He does not seek it in mystic religious feelings; he finds it simply in the feeling of sympathy.

You see a man beat a child. You know that the beaten child suffers. Your imagination causes you to suffer the pain inflicted upon the child; or perhaps its tears, its little suffering face tell you. And, if you are not a coward, you rush at the brute who is beating it and rescue it from him.

This example explains almost all the moral sentiments. The more powerful your imagination, the better you can picture to yourself what any being feels when it is made to suffer, the more intense and delicate will your moral sense be. The more you are drawn to put yourself in the place of the other person, the more you feel the pain inflicted upon him, the insult offered him, the injustice of which he is a victim, the more will you be urged to act so that you may prevent the pain, insult, or injustice. And the more you are accustomed by circumstances, by those surrounding you, or by the intensity of your own thought and your own imagination, to *act* as your thought and imagination urge, the more will the moral sentiment grow in you, the more will it become habitual.

This is what Adam Smith develops with a wealth of examples. He was young when he wrote this book, which is far superior to the work of his old age upon Political Economy. Free from religious prejudice, he

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*_The Theory of Moral Sentiment_, "Works and Life of Adam Smith" Vols. 4 & 5.

sought the explanation of morality in a physical fact of human nature, and this is why official and non-official theological prejudice has put the treatise on the Black List for a century.

Adam Smith's only mistake was not to have understood that this same feeling of sympathy, in its habitual stage, exists amongst animals as well as amongst men.

In spite of those followers of Darwin, who ignore in him all he did not borrow from Malthus, the feeling of solidarity is the leading characteristic of all animals living in society. The eagle devours the sparrow, the wolf devours the marmot; but the eagles and the wolves respectively aid each other in hunting, the sparrow and the marmot unite amongst themselves against the beasts and birds of prey so effectually that only the very clumsy ones are caught. In all animal societies, solidarity is a natural law of far greater importance than that struggle for existence, the virtue whereof is sung by the ruling classes in every strain that may best serve to mislead us.

When we study the animal world and try to explain to ourselves that struggle for existence maintained by each living being against adverse circumstances and against its enemies, we realize that the more the principles of solidarity and equality are developed in an animal society, the more chance has it of surviving and coming triumphantly out of the struggle against hardships and foes. The more thoroughly each member of the society feels his solidarity with each other member of the society, the more completely are developed in all of them those two qualities which are the main factors of all progress: courage, on the one hand, and, on the other, free individual initiative. And, on the contrary, the more any animal society, or little group of animals, loses this feeling of solidarity—which may chance as the result of exceptional scarcity or else of exceptional plenty—the more do the two other factors of progress, courage and individual initiative diminish; in the end they disappear, and the society falls into decay and sinks before its foes. Without mutual confidence no struggle is possible; there is no courage, no initiative, no solidarity—and no victory! Defeat is certain.

Some day we will return to this subject. We can prove with a wealth of examples how, in the animal and human worlds, the law of mutual aid is the law of progress, and

how mutual aid, with the courage and individual initiative which follow from it, secures victory to the species most capable of practicing it. For the present it is enough to state the fact. The reader will be able to estimate for himself its importance in the question with which we are occupied.

Now let us imagine this feeling of solidarity acting during the millions of ages which have succeeded one another since the first beginnings of animal life appeared upon the globe. Let us imagine how this feeling little by little became a habit, and was transmitted by heredity from the simplest microscopic organism to its descendant, insects, birds, reptiles, mammals, man, and we shall comprehend the origin of the moral sentiment, which is a necessity to the animal, like food or the organ for digesting it.

Here, without going further back, and speaking of complex animals springing from colonies of extremely simple beings, here is the origin of the moral sentiment. We have been obliged to be extremely brief, in order to compress this great question within the limits of a few pages, but enough has been already said to show that there is nothing mysterious or sentimental about it. Without this solidarity of the individual with the species, the animal kingdom would never have developed or reached its present perfection. The most advanced being upon earth would still be one of those tiny specks swimming in the water and scarcely perceptible under a microscope. Would even this exist? For are not the earliest aggregations of cellules themselves an instance of association in the struggle?

VI.

Thus, by an unprejudiced observation of the animal kingdom, we reach the conclusion that, wherever society exists at all, this principle may be found: *Treat others as you would like them to treat you under similar circumstances.*

And when we study closely the evolution of the animal world, we, like the zoologist Kessler, and the economist Tchernyshevsky, discover that the aforesaid, translated by the one word *Solidarity*, has played an infinitely

larger part in the development of the animal kingdom than all the adaptations that have resulted from a struggle between individuals to acquire personal advantages.

It is evident that in human societies a still greater degree of solidarity is to be met with. Even the societies of monkeys highest in the animal scale offer a striking example of practical solidarity, and man has taken a step further in the same direction. This, and this alone, has enabled him to preserve his puny race amid the obstacles cast by nature in his way, and to develop his intelligence.

A careful observation of those primitive societies still remaining at the level of the Stone Age, shows to what a great extent the members of the same community practice solidarity amongst themselves.

This is the reason why practical solidarity never ceases; no, not during the worst periods of history. Even when temporary circumstances of domination, servitude, exploitation, cause the principle to be rejected, it still lives deep in the thoughts of the many, ready to bring about a strong opposition against evil institutions, a revolution. If it were otherwise, society would perish.

For the vast majority of animals, and men, this feeling remains, and must remain, an acquired habit, a principle always present to the mind, even when it is continually ignored in action.

It is the whole evolution of the animal kingdom speaking in us. And this evolution has lasted long, very long; it counts by hundreds of millions of years.

Even if we wished to get rid of it, we could not. It would be easier for a man to accustom himself to walk on all fours, than to get rid of the moral sentiment. It precedes, in animal evolution, the upright posture of man.

The moral sense is a natural faculty in us, like the sense of smell or of touch.

As for Law and Religion, which also have preached this principle, they have simply filched it to cloak their own wares, their injunctions for the benefit of the conqueror, the exploiter, the priest. Without this principle of solidarity, the justice of which is so generally recognized, how could they have laid hold on men's minds?

They covered themselves with it as with a garment; like Authority, which made good its position by posing as the protector of the weak against the strong.

By flinging overboard Law, Religion and Authority, mankind regains possession of the moral principle which has been taken from it.

But to deny the moral principle because Church and Law have exploited it, would be as unreasonable as to declare that one would never wash oneself because the Koran prescribes daily bathing.

Besides, this principle of treating others as one wishes to be treated oneself, what is it but the very same principle as equality, the fundamental principle of Anarchism? And how can any one manage to believe himself an Anarchist unless he practices it?

We do not wish to be ruled. And, by this very fact, do we not declare that we ourselves wish nobody to rule? We do not wish to be deceived, we wish always to be told nothing but the truth. And, by this very fact, do we not declare that we ourselves do not wish to deceive anybody, that we promise to always tell the truth?

(To be continued)

BOOKS RECEIVED

THE SPY. By Maxim Gorky. New York: Huebsch. $1.50.

MODERN GERMANY IN RELATION TO THE GREAT WAR. New York: Mitchell Kennerly. $2.00.

MELMOTH THE WANDERER. By Gustav Davidson and Joseph Roven. Boston: The Poet Lore Co.

TALES OF TWO COUNTRIES. By Maxim Gorky. New York: Huebsch. $1.25.

BREAKING POINT. By Michael Artzibashef. New York: Huebsch. $1.40.

WAR, PROGRESS AND THE END OF HISTORY. By Wladimir Soloviev. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. $2.25.

CHANTS COMMUNAL. By Horace Traubel. Boston: Small, Maynard & Co.

THE COLOR OF LIFE. By Emanuel Julius. Girard, Kansas. 50 cents.

THE CRUSHED FLOWER. By Leonid Andreyev. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. $1.50.

WAR—A play in four Acts by Michael Artzibashef. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. $1.00.

THE HOUSE OF THE DEAD. By Fyodor Dostojevsky. New York: The Macmillan Co. $1.50.

TARAS BULBA. By N. V. Gogol. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. $1.35.

THE MEMOIRS OF A PHYSICIAN. By V. Veressayev. New York: Alfred Knopf. $1.50.

THE UNEMPLOYMENT PROBLEM. Cause and Cure. By "Analyticus." Published by the *Sociology Club*, Schenectady, N. Y. Cloth 55 cents; Paper 30 cents.

ALEXANDER BERKMAN

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